

Jane Addams

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

D. C.

JC

REPORT MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:

Washington, D. C.

DATE WHEN MADE:

5-7-24

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

5-7-24

REPORT MADE BY:

A. P. Davidson

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE - WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

REPORT OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

8374

1538

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Washington, D. C.

File 287.

Continuing report on this investigation, Agent has received the following copies of important documents distributed during the Fourth International Congress of the League, held in this city from April 30 to May 7, inclusive, copies of which are attached to the original and office copies of this report:

1. Program of the Fourth International Congress.
2. Who's who, Fourth Biennial International Congress.
3. Manifesto adopted by the Fourth International Congress.
4. The New International Order, Etc.
5. Address, Jane Addams, Opening of the Congress.
6. Eighth Yearly Report of the League.
7. America's Imperialism, by Lewis S. Gannett.
8. Program of the Pan American Session of the League.
9. Leaflet - All Friends of World Disarmament Unite.
10. Pamphlet, entitled, "Who is doing what to end War."
11. Program of the coming International Summer School on the League.
12. Pamphlet, entitled, "The Youth of the World and Peace."

Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 10-24-21

The last mentioned pamphlet is an interesting expose of the Radical Youth

movement now being disseminated throughout the schools and colleges of the U. S. A.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

CLOSED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

61-1538-46

RECORDED AND INDEXED: MAY 8 - 1924

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Wash 3
Office 1
Extra 1
APRACK

Hoover

Handwritten initials and signature

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CHECKED OFF: MAY 16 1924

MAY 8 - 1924
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION
MAY 8 1924

ROUTED TO:

HOOPER

FILE

DIVISION

HISTORY OF
The
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM



JANE ADDAMS

U. S. SECTION

1915 - 1940



National Executive Office - 1354 "F" Street N.W., Washington, D. C.
National Literature Department - 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

HISTORY OF THE Women's International League U. S. SECTION

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom grew out of the anxiety and strain of the early days of the World War. It began in an International Congress of Women, called by British, Dutch, and Belgian women to protest against war, meeting at The Hague from April 28 to May 1, 1915. Jane Addams, the chairman of the newly formed Woman's Peace Party in America, was asked to preside. Delegates representing twelve countries, including seven of the belligerent nations, surmounted difficulties and braved public opinion to attend. The forty-seven United States delegates were detained on their boat for three days by British authorities, and finally landed only two hours before the Congress opened; while most of the English delegation were caught by the cessation of traffic on the North Sea, and never arrived.

The delegates organized The Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace, consisting of not more than five women from each nation, with Miss Addams as International Chairman and with headquarters in Amsterdam. This was to become, in 1919, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

At the 1915 Congress a series of resolutions was passed, which offered a statesmanlike foundation for a treaty of peace; they attracted the interest of President Wilson, and many of their ideas reappeared in his famous "fourteen points" (speech to Congress, January 8, 1918). Examples are the discrediting of secret treaties, the denial of the right of conquest, the right of a population to decide on its own government. Nor did the influence of the Congress end in theories, for these same principles were carried over into the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Congress also advocated a "permanent Council of Conciliation and investigation" and a "permanent Court of Justice." This move toward arbitration had its effect in the Covenant of the League, in the World Court, and in the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Another resolution made by this first Congress is particularly interesting in the light of subsequent accomplishment. "The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realizing that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war."

The resolutions were presented by delegations of women to government leaders of fourteen countries, both neutral and belligerent. The most urgent suggestion was one for a Conference of Neutral Nations, sitting continuously to seek possible terms for peace and to present them to the belligerents as occasion offered. This proposal was welcomed by most of the fourteen nations.

During the next months the women made every effort to bring such a conference into being. The unwillingness of the United States government to call it or even to participate was the only obstacle; but one which proved insurmountable. Next an unofficial conference of individual neutrals was planned. This actually opened in Stockholm, in January, 1916, financed by Mr. Henry Ford; but its appeals were in vain, and after thirteen months it passed out of existence when Mr. Ford withdrew his support.

In America, the Woman's Peace Party held its first annual meeting in January, 1916. It had been organized one year before at a mass meeting in Washington. The impetus had been the war-protest lecture of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of England and Mme. Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary, who helped crystallize the pacifistic impulse felt by many Americans at that time. The new Woman's Peace Party had grown quickly, attracting during its first year about forty thousand members, and showing tremendous activity in peace propaganda. At the 1916 annual meeting it voted to become the United States section of the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace. The demands for a convention of neutral powers and for the nationalization of armaments were common to the platform of the Party and the resolutions of the Committee.

Other 1915 planks of the Woman's Peace Party were: A "Concert of Nations" to supersede "Balance of Power;" the removal of the economic causes of war; and the appointment by our government of a commission of men and women, with an adequate appropriation, to promote international peace. In 1916 there were added an opposition to compulsory military service; a recommendation for a joint commission to deal with United States-Oriental problems; and a statement of the principle that military protection for foreign investments should not be expected.

The next annual meeting was held eleven months later, in December of 1916. It took up the problems of minorities and the solutions which might be effected through the federal form of government; and also discussed the famines which were widespread in many countries, pointing out the direct connection of famine and war.

The whole of the year 1916 and the first months of 1917 were saddening, filled with unheeded protests by the Woman's Peace Party against the imperialism of the South American policy and against the change of feeling, both in the administration and at large, which led us into the World War. When the country was at war, nothing was left but even vainer protests, as for instance against conscription without a referendum, or on behalf of the conscientious objectors. The National Board, at its first meeting after America entered the war, declared to the branches: "We have avoided all criticism of our Government as to the declaration of war, and all activities that could be considered as obstructive in respect to the conduct of the war and this not as a counsel of prudence, but as a matter of principle."

In the same statement the work of the State Branches is described. Being in their work independent of the National Board, they had been following various lines, some in Red Cross work, food conservation, and other war relief efforts; others in protecting civil liberties; others in lectures and classes on international justice.

At the annual meeting of the Woman's Peace Party in December, 1917, continued work was urged for a League of Nations and for substituting law for war. "Let those of opposed opinions be loyal to the highest that they know, and let each understand that the other may be equally patriotic." With this spirit the peace-lovers went forward into the passions and the bleak hatred of the war months.

When peace came, and the Peace Conference was announced to meet in Paris, plans were upset. The Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace had expected to meet at the same time and place as the treaty negotiators; but since Paris was not neutral territory and women from the Central Powers could not come there, Zurich was hastily decided on.

The Zurich Congress passed unanimously a strong resolution on the famine and the food blockade, asking that the inter-allied machinery already in existence be used for peace, through the immediate distribution of necessities. No action was taken by the Paris Conference on this plan.

When the Treaty of Versailles was made public the Zurich Congress was in actual session and was, we believe, the first body to protest the terms. Protest it did, in no uncertain language. Its series of resolutions began as follows:

"This International Congress of Women expresses its deep regret that the Terms of Peace proposed at Versailles should so seriously violate the principles upon which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured, and which the democracies of the world had come to accept.

"By guaranteeing the fruits of the secret treaties to the conquerors, the Terms of Peace tacitly sanction secret diplomacy, deny the principles of self-determination, recognize the right of the victors to the spoils of war, and create all over Europe discords and animosities, which can only lead to future wars."

The diplomats were patient though unmoved. The Allied press was bitterly critical, for few people at that time saw the danger in the Versailles Treaty. Only after a year or two did the views now common begin to develop.

Suggestions on the League of Nations were made to the Conference, but also without effect. The Zurich Congress could not approach unity on the question of whether to advocate the League, as then set up, and so no position was officially taken.

Many women told the Congress of their experiences in the war, or in the revolutions which several countries had undergone. There was no embarrassment, much less bitterness, in these exchanges between recent "enemies."

sented to President Coolidge and were published under the title "Occupied Haiti." They advised particularly that an official inquiry be authorized, and subsequently, under President Hoover, such an inquiry was undertaken. The findings of this official commission, which coincided closely with those of the W. I. L., resulted in the withdrawal of the marines and new treaty arrangements.

The W. I. L. policy of combating imperialism has found additional expression in action in regard to Cuba, Nicaragua, and Liberia, with important results.

Professor Francis B. Sayre of the Harvard Law School, who was later appointed Assistant Secretary of State by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was asked by the W. I. L. in 1927 to draft a model arbitration treaty. This was widely circulated by our group, laying the foundation for the understanding of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Mr. Sayre's model was actually being circulated six months before M. Briand made his proposal which led to the Peace Pact. In the same year thirty thousand signatures were collected, asking President Coolidge to initiate the treaties for the outlawry of war. At the presentation of these to the President he announced his intention of beginning conversations with M. Briand on the subject of an outlawry of war treaty. The W. I. L. continued pressing this matter until it was finally brought to a successful conclusion in 1929, with ratification by the Senate of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

It was in 1927 also that a threatened war with Mexico was stopped in the nick of time, our army turned back from its journey to the border, by the concerted protests of pacifists all over the country.

An interim Congress met in Honolulu in the summer of 1928. The following winter the W. I. L. helped in the work that brought about the cutting of the cruiser-building program from seventy-one to fifteen, and influenced the abandonment of two imperialistic loans, the Manchurian loan to Japan and the Cumberland proposal for a loan to Nicaragua.

The Sixth Congress, meeting in Prague in 1929, was marked by the resignation of Miss Addams as International President and the appointment of an executive committee to succeed her. Miss Addams was elected and remained until her death, Honorary International President.

The W. I. L. had long advocated a general disarmament conference. In 1932 this finally came to pass in Geneva. To this Conference pacifists brought over eight million signatures on petitions for disarmament. Of these, six million, for total and universal disarmament, had been collected by W. I. L. workers, by ceaseless activity in many countries. In America a Peace Caravan started at Los Angeles, traveled ten thousand miles in a progress across the country, holding meetings and gathering signatures, and finally arrived in Washington with a great escort of cars. The East Room of the White House was crowded with women from many states as bundle after bundle of petitions was passed up to President Hoover. The petitions were later taken to Geneva for the opening of the Disarmament Conference.



Jane Addams with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mrs. Hannah Clothier Hull at the dinner held in her honor on May 2, 1935, in Washington, D. C., commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the League.

The name of the organization became The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the headquarters was changed to Geneva to be near the League of Nations. Emily Greene Balch was elected International Secretary and Jane Addams, who had been International Chairman, was made International President. She continued in this office until her resignation in 1929, when she was appointed Honorary President.

A few months later the Woman's Peace Party held its annual meeting and voted to become the United States section of the reorganized body. From here on this brief outline will confine itself chiefly to the United States section. The story is one of unremitting labor for many principles, and of translating them into governmental action. The most important of these we shall try to trace.

In April of 1920 the United States Women's International League met again, and found itself at variance on the League of Nations question—that is, on whether to support the existing League. This continued for some years, the W. I. L. declaring its hope for "a League of Nations which renounces economic and military coercion." Finally, at the annual meeting in 1927, recognizing the League as likely to continue in its present form for some time, the W. I. L. voted that it "desires to see the United States enter the League of Nations, providing only that it does so with the understanding that the United States is exempt from any obligation to . . . join in exerting military pressure."

Points set forth in 1915 and still maintained by the W. I. L. include: education of youth for peace; measures to remove the economic causes of war; total and universal disarmament; pacific settlement of international disputes and establishment of legal machinery for such settlement. In 1920 we first enunciated our stand against military training, and in 1922 against lynching.

The aftermath of the war brought many calls for help: the terrible famine in Europe; and in the United States the fever of deportations, the conscientious objectors and other political prisoners still in jail, the curtailment of constitutional liberties. Pan-American relations demanded attention, for American imperialism in Haiti and San Domingo still continued, and Mexico was in the turmoil of a new government.

The third International Congress in 1921, held in Vienna, discussed education and the problems of minorities and passed a resolution that, since class struggles as well as national conflicts were evil, the members should strive "to transform the economic system in the direction of social justice." This declaration received much sensational comment and many wild accusations.

The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments, in 1922, enlisted the energies of the W. I. L., as of American pacifists generally. Apparently their influence was felt by the American delegates. Later in this year a W. I. L. Emergency Conference met at The Hague, calling for revision of the Treaties and for an international economic conference. It is interesting to note that the French section protested with the others the Poincare policy of French occupation of German territory.

In 1923 much work was done in the United States to spread information on the provisions of the National Defense Act. An analysis of this Act was published by the W. I. L. and widely noticed.

The following year Washington was chosen as the seat of the fourth International Congress, to which delegates came from twenty-two European countries. At the close the European women were sent on a tour as far as St. Louis in a train called the Pax Special. They visited twenty-three cities holding meetings and making speeches. The fifth International Congress took place in Dublin in 1926, adopting an excellent statement of objectives.

During 1925 and 1926 especial attention was given in the United States to the problem of economic and financial imperialism. We were successful in 1925 in having drafted and introduced into both houses of Congress a resolution aimed against economic imperialism (Sen. Con. Res. No. 22, 1925, and Sen. Con. Res. No. 15, 1927.) This bill was especially devised to prevent the United States from becoming involved on behalf of citizens' investments in foreign countries.

The W. I. L.'s standing protest on the Haitian situation found concrete expression when, in 1926, we sent to Haiti a committee of six—including two colored women—to study conditions there. Their recommendations were pre-

While this Conference was in process, the W. I. L.'s own seventh International Congress convened in Grenoble, according to the now established policy of holding a session every three years. In September, 1934, an emergency Congress met in Zurich at which the statement of aims was revised and enlarged.

In the meantime, the continuous effort of nineteen years to find a way of curbing the private profits and traffic in munitions had come to a climax. In January, 1934, Senator Gerald P. Nye agreed to introduce a resolution into Congress to investigate the manufacture of armaments. After the appointment of the committee to conduct the hearings, the W. I. L. put all of its power into nation-wide publicity and support of the investigation. 1934 also marks the passage of the bill to give independence to the Philippines. Since 1921 the League had worked for such a step.

Efforts of peace workers to bring the United States into the World Court seemed about to reach success in 1935; but after a hard-fought battle the plan was defeated. This failure, disappointing though it was, left a renewed determination to carry on the work for the court.

The League celebrated in 1935 its twenty years of activity. At an around-the-world broadcast from Washington on May 3rd, ambassadors and statesmen paid tribute to the League and to one of its founders, Jane Addams. The addresses which honored her, and her reply linked in a few minutes the capitals of five nations as the speaker; took up the program in Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan and the United States, a new experiment in international hookup which proved a complete success.

Three weeks later Jane Addams died, her generous life fulfilled. The stone above her grave reads thus:

JANE ADDAMS
HULL HOUSE

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

—a fitting memorial of a spirit that expressed itself in action and courageous service.

Aware of rising international tensions, the W. I. L. in 1936-'37 cooperated in the two year Emergency Peace Campaign. It also joined with some forty national organizations in setting up the National Peace Conference. This body adopts a wide common program into which the specialized aims of the different groups fit but commits no organization without its specific approval.

The ninth International Congress met in 1937 at Luhacovice, Czechoslovakia, with the cordial cooperation of the Czech government, local officials and business organizations. A large group attended from the United States, meeting there leading women from all parts of Europe. Since then the U. S. Section has assisted with plans to give aid and hospitality to many of these same persons, as well as others, now political refugees from the land of their birth.

Appeals from members in Pue to Rico led to a two-day conference in Washington on March 8-9, 1940, on the whole question of United States policy in this island. The speeches were sufficiently important for printing and public distribution and were a continuation of our work through the years for better relations with Nicaragua, Haiti, Mexico, Cuba, and other Latin American countries.

The furious outburst of European war in September, 1939, has not surprised us—it has only filled us with sorrow. George Lansbury, famous English peace leader, said shortly before his death, "Some day they will know that we are right." We continue to strive towards peace in many lines of endeavor, leaving no way untried that may help toward the beautiful, the distant, the inevitable, goal. As Jane Addams wrote in "Peace and Bread," nothing could be worse than the fear that one had given up too soon, had left one effort unexpended which might have helped the world.

All who are interested in our program are invited to join the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Send \$1.00 and your name to the National Office, 1734 'F' St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

To pass along to a Friend



W. I. L.
CARRIES
ON

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
FOUNDED IN 1918 BY JANE ADDAMS

The peace for which we work is much more than absence of war or maintenance of order through the dominance of force. It is a positive principle in human relations and can be found only where there is free cooperation for the common good.
May, 1941.

National Executive Office
1734 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

National Organization and
Literature Offices
1924 Chestnut Street Philadelphia, Pa.

JUNE 1941

ORGANIZATION

Despite the great changes in international affairs, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom still has active members in many countries. The work continues from the Geneva office at 12 Rue du Vieux-College as well as from a temporary office in New York.

The U. S. National Office at 1734 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C., serves as the information and action center for legislative work, general administration, and the development of policies.

The Organization and Literature Offices, at 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., coordinate the work of the many local and State Branches and supply them with their working materials.

OFFICERS — U. S. SECTION

Honorary Intern'l. President, Miss Emily Greene Balch
Massachusetts
Honorary President _____ Mrs. Hannah Clothier Hull
Pennsylvania
Honorary Vice-Pres., Miss Katherine Deveraux Blake
New York
Honorary Vice-Pres. _____ Mrs. Louis F. Post
Washington, D. C.
President _____ Mrs. Dorothy Medders Robinson
Washington, D. C.
1st Vice-President _____ Dr. Gertrude C. Bussey
Maryland
2nd Vice-President _____ Mrs. Elsie Effenbein
New Jersey
3rd Vice-President _____ Mrs. Helen M. Beardley
California
Treasurer _____ Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Montana
Secretary _____ Mrs. Stella Moos
Pennsylvania
Asst. Secretary _____ Mrs. Elizabeth Borton
New Jersey
Treasurer of Intern'l. Funds, Mrs. Alfred C. Intemann
New York

MEMBERSHIP

The W. I. L. is supported by low membership dues as follows:
International (including State and National) \$6 to \$10.
State and National \$1 to \$5.
But dues alone will not carry the extensive work done by the organization, and additional voluntary contributions in large and small amounts are necessary.

I enclose — Dues \$ _____

Contribution \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

— SEND TO —

Women's International League National Office—1734 F St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

Or pay your

Local

Treasurer

WHAT IS THE W. I. L.?

The Women's International League was founded in the midst of conflict to protest the waste and horror of war, and to find and to propose bases of enduring peace. Called together in Holland by Dr. Aletta Jacobs in 1915, women from belligerent and neutral countries met, elected Jane Addams their head, and among other things adopted certain far-seeing resolutions which were presented to the heads of nations. They were generally well received, some of them reappearing in President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points. The proposals included a permanent court of justice, abolition of secret treaties, denial of the right of conquest, and world-wide disarmament, beginning with abolition of private manufacture of munitions.

In 1919 the W. I. L. International Congress in Zurich protested the terms of the Versailles Treaty as containing the seeds of future war. For many years it advocated a general disarmament conference and pushed hard for real action in Geneva in 1932. Branches of the League during these years spread into many countries, with some 27 national sections, and informal groups elsewhere. That number has now been reduced by the increase of dictatorships, but where they can still function these women are courageously continuing their struggle for permanent peace, and maintaining a nucleus that is ready to expand as soon as the war is ended.

The United States Section follows the general lines of policy laid down by the International Congresses. It has conducted effective work in directly influencing the setting up of the munitions investigation, the repeal of the

Platt Amendment (Cuba), withdrawal of marines from Haiti and Nicaragua, better relations with Mexico, Puerto Rico, etc., and personal contacts with leading women of all South American countries, including the publication of a circular letter in Spanish.

HOW DOES IT WORK?

The United States Section of the W. I. L. is set up in state branches, in turn divided into local units, which carry on active legislative and educational work. Legislative work is largely directed from Washington by Miss Dorothy Detzer, the national executive secretary. Study groups, church activity, public meetings, radio talks, personal service, are carried by local groups. The purpose of the local is to focus sentiment and action on behalf of such measures as forward the conditions underlying a permanent peace. These activities are necessarily different in times of crisis from those carried in periods of calm, but there is always much work that can be useful and constructive. Read the next column.

HOW IS IT SUPPORTED?

The entire organization is supported by membership dues and contributions. The latter come almost exclusively from a great number of individuals giving small amounts. In some communities members undertake raising money projects. There have been some complimentary awards from foundations. Generally speaking the loyal generosity of the members has been the support of a devoted staff which uses much volunteer help. The effectiveness of the W. I. L. depends on the amount of both money and time thus contributed.

WHAT ARE ITS PRESENT AIMS?

The W. I. L. sees a great field of work immediately before it. Among the opportunities that lie open and the policies that should be stressed are:

1. Mobilization of the enormous anti-war sentiment among all people in the United States, and active support of a referendum before entrance into any foreign war.
2. Maintenance of American democracy through the protection of civil liberties.
3. Support of a program for national volunteer civilian service for men and women as an alternative for military service.
4. Work for relief of war victims and assistance to refugees.
5. Development of increased cultural and economic cooperation with the Pan-American countries and people, as a step toward an ultimate world organization for peace.
6. Discussion and study of terms of a final peace settlement, based upon justice and human needs rather than upon dictated demands of any victor.
7. Proposal of plans for the essentials of a permanent world organization.

CANADA

AGNES MACPHAIL

First woman member of parliament for the Dominion of Canada.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

HELENA JILLOVA

Member of the Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia and a sociologist.

MARIE JELL

Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Section of the Women's International League. Descended from the ancient Dutch nobility on her mother's side, and her father was Privy Counsellor of the Austrian Emperor.

While at the Horticultural School for women in Vienna she met Yella Hertzka, who introduced her in the Women's International League.

In 1922, she worked with Frau A. M. Wlochowski and other like-minded women to found a Section of the W. I. L. which has now more than three hundred members.

FRANCE

GABRIELLE DUCHEME

Founder and President of the French Section of the W. I. L. For many years worked against the sweat shop system and for equal salaries for working women.

In 1918, with co-workers, founded French Committee for aid for poor children. With Andree Jouve she started the movement "Cahiers de la Paix" for a New International Order.

ANDREE JOUVE

Secretary French Section of the W. I. L. Teacher in State College for young girls. In Switzerland in 1916, with her husband, P. J. Jouve, one of the group of faithful friends of Romain Rolland, made protest against war.

She made a special study of the principles of the new education in relation to pacifism and internationalism. Took part in the preliminary conference at Berne and at the Zurich Congress of the W. I. L. as a delegate from the French Section.

MARCELLE LOPY

Writer, journalist, lecturer.

As a young woman making a lecture tour, she saw the misery of the people and then devoted herself to bettering conditions for the working women.

Journalist- "La Retaille Syndicats" - a popular daily paper. Published reports on working women. Lived among them as one of them.

When the war came, she joined the group of young intellectuals with Romain Rolland.

Published articles in the papers showing the cruel absurdity of violence. In 1918, with Pierre Erizon, founded a paper "La Vogue", which has been fighting for five years against war and violence.

NORWAY Rev. I. E. Mortensen, Einarbu (Alvdal) via Kristiania
 GERMANY Rev. F. Freeminus, Eschenheim (Mainz)
 AUSTRIA Dr. S. Fuchslitzer, 12 Redtenbacherstr., Graz

PLEASE SIGN

and send to one of the following addresses:
 REV. HERBERT DUNNICO, M. P., 4 New Road St., London
 MISS ERNA JULLIG, 22 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass.

**INTERNATIONAL UNION for VOLUNTARY DISARMAMENT
 ON A RECIPROCIDY BASIS**

PLEDGE

I herewith declare my readiness to renounce every military service, provided --

- (1) That an International Centre for Disarmament supplies me, in every state, with an adequate number of partners of equal military value, voluntarily assuming the same obligation of self-disarmament;
- (2) That a list of these disarmament-volunteers, as soon as they form together a complete "International Battalion of Disarmament," is submitted to the League of Nations for verification and as proof of the growing popular demand for universal disarmament;
- (3) That the legal exemption from military service of the recorded disarmament volunteers is recommended by the League of Nations and recognized by all governments.

(DO WRITE VERY DISTINCTLY)

Name

Address

Date of Birth

Nationality (citizen of)

Calling, Occupation, or Profession

Do you belong to any Creed, Church, or Ethical Society? If so, to which?

Do you belong to any Political Party or Group? If so, to which?

In which Foreign countries have you Friends, Acquaintances, Relatives?

Are you invalid? If so, under or over 50%?

Date of Entry

Those opponents of war, whose refusal of military service is unconditional, may emphasize their particular view by putting an "R" ("Radical") in this column:

At which age should people become disarmament-volunteers?

At every age: old and young. Even children may be registered by their parents for building up, as soon as possible, provisional Battalions; but their members, after becoming of age, have to ratify their enrollment.

How can the disarmament-volunteers verify the growth and finally the completeness of their Battalion?

The registration-bureau of the Union supplies every registered person, at least once annually, with a list of its partners in all countries.

Will it not take too long time for mankind to disarm in that way?

The voluntary disarmament we propose, shall and will very soon have the effect, that the governments themselves (not wishing to lose the lead) take up the task and realize the promise they gave to the world by creating the League of Nations and, in their majority, ratifying the Covenant, Art. VIII of which obliges them to disarm. We want a strong popular movement for making them act.

How strong is this movement at the date of printing this pamphlet?

National Branches of the Union have been established in the following countries, and under the following leaders:

GREAT BRITAIN.	Rev. H. Dunning, 47 New Broad St., London
FRANCE.....	Mr. Carmelin, 5 Rue Alphonse Daudet, Paris XIV.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	Miss E. Jällig, 362 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass. Mr. R. Broda, President of the "League for the Organization of Progress," 78 Tremont St., Boston
SWITZERLAND..	Mr. L. Katscher, 23 Niesenstr., Interlaken Mr. E. Peytrequin, President of the "Maison du Peuple," Ave. Beaumont, Lausanne
NORWAY.....	Rev. I. E. Mortenson, Einabu (Alvdal) via Kristiania
GERMANY.....	Rev. F. Fresenius, Essenheim (Mainz)
AUSTRIA.....	Dr. S. Puchleitner, 12 Redtenbacher, Graz
CZEKO- SLOVAKIA..	Mr. Münzer, M.D., Prof. of the Univ. of Prague

The actual membership is about 10,000, more than 2,000 resident in the U. S. A.

How is the movement financially supported?

The contributions of the European members and monthly subsidies of the League for the Organization of Progress (Berne-Geneva) maintain the Union's registration-bureau (Graz, Austria). Contributions of American friends (even smallest sums) are welcome but are not a condition for membership. They may be sent to:

THE MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK, BOSTON, account of R. BRODA, LL.D., President of the
"League for the Organization of Progress."

EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTIONS may be sent to the BANQUE CANTONALE DE BERNE, account of the
"Ligue pour la défense de l'humanité."

How will the movement be a success?

If you sign the aforementioned pledge and have your friends sign it.

To which address are the signed pledges to be sent?

To any of the above-cited addresses, the address to the American headquarters being:
Miss E. Jällig, Hon. Sec. of the Union, 362 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass.

ALL FRIENDS OF WORLD-WIDE DISARMAMENT UNITE
BY JOINING
THE INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR VOLUNTARY DISARMAMENT
ON A RECIPROCITY BASIS

INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR VOLUNTARY DISARMAMENT ON A RECIPROCITY BASIS

All Friends of World-wide Disarmament Unite!

How can you unite?

By becoming member of an "International Battalion of Disarmament."

What is an "International Battalion of Disarmament"?

It is an international body of disarmament volunteers, comprising the millionth part of the male or female population of all organized states. When it is complete it has about 825 members of similar sex, age, physical value (healthy or invalid) and more or less similar political or religious tendencies.

How can you join such a Battalion?

By signing the following Pledge: "I herewith declare my readiness to renounce every military service, provided—(1) That an International Centre for Disarmament supplies me, in every state, with an adequate number of partners of equal military value, voluntarily assuming the same obligation of self-disarmament;

(2) That a list of these disarmament volunteers, as soon as they together form a complete "International Battalion of Disarmament," is submitted to the League of Nations for verification and as proof of the growing popular demand for universal disarmament;

(3) That the legal exemption from military service of the recorded disarmament volunteers is recommended by the League of Nations and recognized by all governments.

What does a Battalion of male disarmament-volunteers accomplish?

It enables the International Union for Voluntary Disarmament on a Reciprocity Basis to appeal to all governments (by the intermediary of the League of Nations or the Association of People which may take her place) for the simultaneous legal exemption from military service of all members of such a Battalion.

Will these appeals be heard by the governments?

They will be heard; if not at once, certainly when numerous Battalions present themselves.

Will the members of those Battalions not be accused to undermine the security of their respective states?

Certainly not!

Why not?

Because there is no patriotic argument against their method to prepare world-disarmament, as

(1) they demand legal exemption from military service,

(2) they demand it in common and at the same time,

(3) they demand it for a certain group, whose exemption from military service eliminates, in all countries, the same percentage of military strength, both in number and quality, leaving therefore untouched the existing proportion between their forces. Their voluntary disarmament cannot impair, but must increase the national security of every country, because it destroys in a bloodless but much more effective and systematic way its possible enemies.

What does a Battalion of female disarmament-volunteers accomplish?

It diminishes the labor-supply for the munition-factories and other auxiliary war-services, and does splendid propaganda-work, accelerating thereby the formation of male disarmament-groups.

Compiled by
Florence Boeckel
Educational Secretary.

61-1538-46

WHO IS DOING WHAT
TO END WAR

--oOo--

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY
OF THE
PEACE MOVEMENT BY GROUPS

--oOo--

LABOR AND PEACE

The working people ** can end wars if they have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do.
-- A.F. of L. Resolution, 1921.

If the next war comes, American Labor will be morally responsible
** We will not again go to war if the organized workers of America say "No". - Locomotive Engineers Journal, October, 1922.

--oOo--

ORGANIZED LABOR

AND THE

PEACE MOVEMENT

"The toleration of war by cheapening human life contradicts in principle everything for which Labor contends."

"At the last meeting of the League of Nations, Lord Robert Cecil clearly stated that if the governments would not proceed with disarmament and the establishment of world peace, then it must be the peoples themselves who will decree that it shall be done, and will proceed to do it.

"That is the spirit which will animate our Congress -- the spirit of a determination to compel diplomatists and governments, by the power of public opinion, to proceed with disarmament and direct their steps along the path of peace."....
J. Oudegeest, Secretary of I.F.T.U.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Congress, Rome, April, 1922 --- The International Congress declares that it is the task of the organized workers to counteract all wars which may threaten to break out in the future, with all the means at the disposal of the Labour Movement, and to prevent the actual outbreak of such wars by proclaiming and carrying out a General International Strike.

Committee of Action Against War and Militarism was created, composed of members of the I.F.T.U. and representatives of the International Federations, transport workers, miners and metal workers. Meeting held in Amsterdam, January 15-16, 1923, for the purpose of determining measures and form of organization necessary to effect real opposition to war and militarism. A small committee was appointed to elaborate and execute the preliminary measures and scheme of organization. At a meeting on January 17, 1923, the I.F.T.U. determined to obtain the opinions of the German Trade Union movement on a general strike of 24 hours in the Ruhr district as a protest against the military occupation and in behalf of submitting the question to the League of Nations.

Congress at The Hague, December, 1922. - (600 Labor cooperative and peace organizations from 24 nations represented.)

Leaders declared for "no more war at all, even no war between the classes."

Supported Rome resolution for general strike, adding

"the Labor movement must, with the briefest possible delay, render the manufacture and transport of war materials impossible * * * War industries must be transformed into industries for peace production."

Demanded the revision of the Peace Treaty.

Demanded the transformation of the League of Nations into an all embracing society of peoples; urged the creation of a study commission for this purpose.

Proposed frequent meetings of organizations working for peace and the establishment of an institution through which their efforts could be coordinated.

Concrete efforts for peace made by I.F.T.U.: Made inquiries into the situation in Austria, in the Saar Basin, in the devastated areas in Belgium and France; made a stand against the threat of the Allies to take possession of the Ruhr in 1920; proposed a solution of the upper Silesian situation, the broad outlines of which were adopted by the League of Nations; developed a plan of an international loan, since taken up by the governments; developed a plan for the solution of the reparation problem, which was not accepted by the governments.

The I.F.T.U. stands for the prohibition of the private manufacture of and trade in munitions and the implements of war, demanding vigorous action from the Committee on Disarmament of the League of Nations along this line.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF WORKING WOMEN.

Congress, Geneva, October, 1921. --- Pronounced for total international disarmament; urged Washington Conference to work to this end.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY (Opposition party in Parliament. Leader of party, Ramsey MacDonald, avowed pacifist).

Analysis of last election by Felix Morley, of the Baltimore Sun:

"Along with Ramsey MacDonald, there are in Parliament many other labor members, who are unswerving pacifists - Ben Spoor, Chairman of the National Peace Council, E.D. Morel, Philip Snowden, Arthur Ponsonby, Charles P. Trevelyan, Sidney Webb, Noel Buxton, Roden Buxton, Fred Jowett, Neil Maclean, and George Lansbury. Behind the principles which they represent are the votes of one-third of the British electorate, excluding the unenfranchised women under thirty, among whom the anti-war spirit is rampant. Times have changed since the 'elimination of the pacifist group' in the House of Commons by the Khaki election of 1918.

"None of the lessons (of the last election) are more significant than the fact that Ramsey MacDonald and other uncompromising pacifists were returned triumphant to assume the leadership of Labor.

"It is to be noted that the triumph of the pacifist group is by no means the only indication of the predominance of anti-war feeling in Great Britain. The 'last straw' in the conviction of Lloyd George was the belief that his foreign policy had brought the nation to the verge of war with Turkey. Never in recent years has any premier suffered with such utter defeat. Winston Churchill, outstanding jingo of his Cabinet, received only 20,293 votes in Dundee, as against 30,295 for the out-and-out pacifist McNeil. Sir Esmar Greenwood, promoter under Lloyd George of the Black and Tan regime in Ireland, was heavily defeated. Captains Guest and Gee and other prominent militarists endorsed by the ex-premier for the last Parliament have been turned out. Not is it apparent that Mr. Lloyd George expended his money very wisely when in the recent campaign he made a special journey to Atheravon to denounce Ramsey MacDonald's war record.

"England wants peace, which the new Premier promises. But her people also want ideals different from those which have resulted in the collapse of European civilization."

CONCRETE EFFORTS TO PREVENT WAR

August 9, 1920, when war between Russia and Poland was threatened, a joint conference representing the Trade Union Congress, the Labor Party and the Parliamentary Labor Party "warned" the Government "that the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war; that the Executive Committees of affiliated organizations throughout the country be summoned to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a National Conference; that they be advised to instruct their members to 'down tools' on instructions from that National Conference; and that a Council of Action be immediately constituted to take such steps as may be necessary to carry the above decisions into effect."

September, 1922, when war threatened in the Near East, British Labor sent a deputation to the Prime Minister, and stop-the-war demonstrations were made in London, Manchester and other cities in England. A manifesto was issued stating that if hostilities increased the British Government would bear the greatest part of the responsibility and that if the League of Nations could not be used a conference should be called, including representatives of Russia, Bulgaria, and Germany.

The Municipal Employees Association in National convention September 18, 1922, protested against sending troops to Constantinople and pledged as far as they were concerned "not a man or ship or ammunition shall leave England in support of that war."

"There can be no doubt that the firm stand taken by Labor has saved us from a ruinous and interminable war." - Lord Loreburn, former Lord Chancellor.

February 10, 1923, a manifesto on the occupation of the Ruhr was issued by the British Labor Party protesting against the dismemberment of Germany and demanding a world conference to revise the Treaty of Versailles. (See attached)

Additional demands. The British Labor Party demanded the freedom of the straits, self-government for India, independence for Egypt, recognition of Russia, and capital levy for payment of war debt.

AMERICAN LABOR

"The people of the world demand freedom from the burden of armament and they demand a world organized for peace."

"The people of the world do not want an excuse for failure -- they do not even want a reason for failure." -- Samuel Gompers.

The convention of 1887 declared for international arbitration as a substitute for war and its armaments in the settlement of international disputes, and stated: "The American Federation of Labor has been entrusted with the solemn duty of defending the best interests of the working people of America. The demands of the working people will never be fully heard in all their strength and nobility of aspiration until the nations of the world mutually agree to refrain from the fratricidal strife that has so often brought misery and desolation into many millions of happy homes. The working class, the class that always has to bear the brunt of war, has the most profound interest in the establishment and maintenance of peace."

The 1921 convention of the American Federation of Labor, declared: "The cause of disarmament and international peace can be promoted by creating and stimulating a public sentiment that will not tolerate waste of life and by establishing international relations, understandings, and agencies that will constitute insuperable barrier to policies of force and destruction. With humanization, education, cultivation, and the establishment of the rule of reason, occasions for wars and wars themselves will cease. The working people, the masses of the world population, can end wars if they but have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do. For this and many other obvious reasons this convention calls upon the Government of the United States to take the initiative or to cooperate with any other nation or nations for the purpose of a general agreement for disarmament both of the army and the naval affairs of the world and that it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to call upon the workers and the people to aid in every way within their power and to translate into action the sentiments recommended."

The 1922 convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommended an international economic conference to be summoned by the United States, held in the United States, under an agenda prepared by the United States; expressed sympathy for India and urged recognition of Mexico, but refused to recommend recognition of Russia.

Reconstruction Program, 1918 --- The trade union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism" or a large standing army.

Samuel Gompers served as honorary chairman on the General Committee on the Limitation of Armaments which was formed to support the efforts of the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, and which stated in its program; "The General Committee will keep before the public the fact that even when all the agenda before the present conference is disposed of, only the first steps toward permanent peace will have been taken, and that, if America is to hold the lead, which it has gained by its bold proposals for naval reduction, it must press for the redemption of the Administration's pledge to bring the nations of the world into some organic and continuing relationship." The Committee gave up active work January 1, 1922.

The A.F. of L. refused to attend the International Anti-War Conference, in which the labor movements of other countries were represented, at The Hague in December, 1922, but stated at that time: "In declining the American Federation of Labor reiterates its devotion to the cause of peace and announces its intention of continuing as opportunity offers to do all that lies within its power to promote in a constructive manner the cause of international peace."

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS Convention in Rochester, September, 1920, passed resolutions which read in part: "It behooves the movement of Labor to raise their voices against war * * * We believe that the peace and safety of the world rests in the skilled hands of the world's artisans, who fashion steel and iron into munitions of war. We believe that this power wisely used will do more to forever abolish war than all the statesmen and diplomats in whose hands the destinies of the world have been intrusted. Therefore, we urge a conference of the organized metal workers of all nations for the purpose of affecting an agreement for concerted action against war." The machinists are now backing the Hull Bill, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, March 20, 1922, which, among other things "seeks to remove the financial incentives to war by providing for the Government manufacture of munitions."

FOUR BROTHERHOODS --- Statement of Warren S. Stone.
"Peace we must have lest civilization perish. War, the
reddest plague of mankind, must be forever banished by
the workers who at the behest of diplomats and profiteers
have for ages shed their blood and borne the burden of
war taxes." Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive
Engineers in Labor Day Message, 1922.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE --- 1922 Convention
resolved: "That the ultimate purpose of all international
conferences and peace efforts should be to outlaw war
itself and thereby abolish it as an institution for the
settlement of international disputes; that to this end a
code of international law be created -- that the waging of
war be made a public crime under the code --- That we, as
national and local leagues, do all we can to arouse con-
science of our own groups on this question."

SECOND WEEK—MAY 25 TO 31

Sunday, May 25 in the Country

The afternoon session of the School is held at the Bowen Country Club, Waukegan, Illinois. A fast train leaves the Northwestern Station for Waukegan at 10:25 A. M. Commutation tickets will be furnished at the rate of \$1.00 for the round trip. Lunch is served at the Commons of the Bowen Country Club at twelve o'clock and supper at five o'clock. Return is possible on one of the many evening trains on the Northwestern Railway, by trolley, or by motor.



Bowen Country Club

Sunday, May 25
2 P. M.
Goodfellow Hall
Bowen Country Club
Waukegan, Illinois

Women and Non-Violence in the Labor Movement.

Gabrielle Duchene, secretaire generale de l'Office francais du Travail a Domicile; Lucille du Jardin, Commission Syndicale de Belgique; Dr. Nadia Surowzowa, Ukraina; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Ex-President International Congress of Working Women.

May 26, 27, 28, 29.
10:00 to 11:00 A. M.
11:30 A. M. to
1:00 P. M.
Fine Arts Building
410 S. Michigan Blvd.

The Biological Bases of International Cooperation.

Anton J. Carlson, Professor of Physiology, University of Chicago; Dr. Gertrude Woker, Professor of Chemistry, University of Berne, Switzerland; Warder C. Allee, Professor of Biology, University of Chicago; Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Holland, *Control of Over Population*.

The Psychology and Educational Bases of Internationalism.

Horace G. Kallen, Professor of Psychology, New School of Social Research, New York (two lectures).

Professor Augustus A. Thomas, Portland, Maine, President International Association for Peace Education (two lectures).

Rosika Schwimmer, Ex-Ambassador to Switzerland from Hungary, *The Press and Internationalism*.

Round Table Discussion—

Vilma Glucklich, Maison Internationale, Geneva; Dr. Tomi Wada, Department of Psychiatry, Imperial University, Fukuoka, Japan; Thora Daugaard, Editor *Woman's Journal*, Copenhagen; Matilde Widegren, Director National Normal School, Stockholm.

Commercial, Economic and Industrial Relationships.

Dr. Glen Levin Swiggett, Washington, U. S. Bureau of Education (two lectures), *World Markets, World Economics*.

Rosa Genoni, Professeur d'histoire du costume dans les ecoles professionnelles, Milan, *Costume as a Factor in International Conformity*.

Marcelle Cappy, Paris, Editor *Vogue, Woman's Press and International Commerce*.

Lecturer to be announced in final bulletin (three lectures), *The Control of Raw Material* and allied topics.

Round Table Discussion—

M. G. Conde di Azila, Mexico; Vera Zouroff, Chile; Dr. Anita Augspurg, Germany; Dr. Hilda Clark, England.

Youth and the Future.

Gertrud Baer of the European Youth Movement, in charge.

Representatives of student bodies as speakers, program will be announced later.

Footnote: A fuller program of the entire School and a Who's Who of the speakers will be issued at the opening of the School.

May 30 and 31
Fine Arts Building
410 S. Michigan Blvd.



Entrance to Hall House

FIRST WEEK—MAY 18 TO 24

Sunday, May 18
4:30 P. M.
Mandel Hall
University of Chicago

Peace Sunday—Jane Addams presiding.
 Address of Welcome, James H. Tufts, Vice-President
 University of Chicago.

Brief statements of the current situation by Delegates
 to the International Congress in Washington:

Frau Hertzka from Austria, Lucille du Jardin from
 Belgium, Mme. Papasoff from Bulgaria, Miss Wong
 from China, Senora Zouroff from Chile, Mme. Ven-
 kova from Czechoslovakia, Miss Thora Daugard from
 Denmark, Miss Courtney from England, Mme. Du-
 chene from France, Fr. Heymann from Germany,
 Mme. Perren from Greece, Dr. Jacobs from Holland,
 Miss Ghucklich from Hungary, Signora Genoni from
 Italy, Mrs. Johnson from Ireland, Hiro Osashe San
 from Japan, Senora Conde di Azila from Mexico, Fru
 Larsen from Norway, Miss Ramos from the Philip-
 pines, Dr. Brudzinski from Poland, Miss Widegren
 from Sweden, Dr. Woker from Switzerland, Dr. Surowzowa from Ukraina.



May 19 to 24
10:00 to 11:30 A. M.
11:30 A. M. to
1:00 P. M.
Recital Hall
10th Floor
Fine Arts Building
410 S. Michigan Blvd.

The Historic, Legal, and Political Bases of Internationalism.
 Ferdinand Schevill, Professor of Modern History, University of Chicago (two lectures),
The Historic Development of Internationalism.

Jackson H. Ralston of Washington; *Democracy's International Law.*
 Manley Hudson, Cambridge, Professor of International Law, Harvard Law School, *The*
League of Nations.

Salmon O. Levinson, Chicago, Founder of the Movement for the Outlawry of War, *Out-*
lawry of War.

Round Table Discussion—
 Yella Hertzka, Austria; Dr. Ethel Williams, England; Mme. Papasoff, Bulgaria; Callir-
 rhoe Parren, Greece.

Racial Differences and World Organization.

Herbert A. Miller, Professor of Sociology, Oberlin College (two lectures), *The Migra-*
tion of Peoples, Modern Immigration.

Professor Charles Zueblin, Boston (two lectures), *The White Race on Trial, The Protec-*
tion of Minorities.

Round Table Discussion—

James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored
 People; Haridas Mazumdar, Author of Gandhi the Apostle; Nida Vankova, Czecho-
 slovakia; Dr. Brudzinski, Poland; Frau Heller, Austria.

4:30 to 6:00 P. M.
Ida Noyes Hall
University of Chicago

The Spiritual Aspirations of the Human Mind.

Robert Morss Lovett, Professor of English, University of Chicago, *The Changing Atti-*
tude Towards War as Reflected in English Literature.

Mme. Andree Jouve, professeur agrégée de l'enseigne-
 ment secondaire des jeunes filles, *Cosmopolitanism in*
French Literature.

Lida Gustava Heymann, Munich, President German
 Section W. I. L. P. F., *Goethe, the great Internation-*
alist.

Edith Picton Turberville O. B. E., London, of the In-
 ternational Young Women's Christian Association, *A*
New Internationalism.

Mme. Ramondt-Hirschman, Amsterdam, Lecturer on
 Co-operative Movements, *The International Fellowship*
of Reconciliation.

Lorado Taft, Art Institute, Chicago; *Internationalism*
in Art.

Round Table Discussion—

Martha Larsen, Librarian, National University of Nor-
 way, Christiania; Mary Johnston, Virginia; Zola Gale,
 Wisconsin.

Friday, May 23
8:00 P. M.
Mandel Hall
University of Chicago

George E. Vincent, President Rockefeller Foundation.
World Organisation for Health.



Harper Library
 University of Chicago

61-1538-46

International Summer School

In connection with the Fourth Congress of the
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
held in Washington, D. C., May 1 to 7, 1924

For Men and Women of Every Nationality, Race, or Creed

Date: May 17 to May 31, 1924

Place: Chicago, U. S. A.

Subject: The Human Factors in Internationalism

The curriculum of the School consists of several series of lectures, dealing with the *Historic, Racial, Economic, Political, Biological, Psychological, and Religious Bases of Internationalism* as the foundation of constructive propositions and positive suggestions for International cooperation. Attention will be devoted to the pathological factors and hostile obstructions to world organization only so far as is necessary to make clear affirmative proposals.

Every effort is made to emphasize those fields in which agreement has been obtained and to set forth the constantly widening range of international cooperation.

Lectures will be given at ten and half-past eleven o'clock in the morning and at half-past four in the afternoon. There will be occasional evening lectures at eight and supplementary round table conferences in the afternoon from two to four.

The last two days, May 30 and May 31, are devoted to the world wide aspects of the "Youth Movement" and are in charge of the representatives of various student organizations, including International and Cosmopolitan Clubs.

The following tentative program is announced, subject to such changes as are caused by the exigencies of the situation:

Headquarters for the School
Room 1010, Fine Arts Bldg., 410 S. Michigan Blvd., Chicago

Saturday, May 17, 8 P. M.
Chicago Woman's Club,
Fine Arts Building, 410 S. Michigan Blvd.

Opening Reception
Addresses of welcome by:
Hon. William E. Dever, the Mayor of Chicago; by Miss Mary McDowell, Commissioner of Public Welfare; Judge Mary Bartelme, Juvenile Court; Mrs. Hefferan and Miss Temple, Board of Education; Mrs. Bemis, County Commissioner. The guests of honor are the foreign delegates and the president of the Chicago Woman's Club; the Chicago Woman's Aid; the Catholic Woman's League; the Conference of Jewish Women's Clubs; the Council of Jewish Women; the Woman's City Club; the Federation of Labor Women's Clubs; the Illinois League of Women Voters; the Chicago League of Women Voters; the Chicago Woman's Social Alliance; the Federation of Southwestern Women's Clubs; the Woman's Book League; the Illinois and Cook County Federation of Women's Clubs; the Chicago College Club; and other groups, organizations, having committees on international relations.



View of Michigan Boulevard, Facade Art Institute

Headquarters

The headquarters of the school are at No. 1010 Fine Arts Building, 410 South Michigan Boulevard. All applications for registration and all inquiries should be directed to the Secretary of the International Summer School.

Fee

The charge for the entire course is \$5.00, which should be paid in advance at the time of application for registration. Admission one week \$3.00, to single lectures 25 cents.

Accommodations

It has unfortunately been impossible to make provision for the housing of the students and hospitality is offered only to foreign delegates. Information concerning residential clubs, hotels, and boarding houses can be obtained on request from Headquarters. Luncheon can be secured in the Fine Arts Building; dinner in the Ida Noyes Refectory at the University of Chicago, and on Sunday, May 18, supper may be obtained at Hutchinson Commons adjoining Mandel Hall.

Location of Lectures

All morning lectures from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M. (except those on Thursday, May 22, and on Thursday, May 29) are held in Recital Hall, tenth floor of the Fine Arts Building, in which the Headquarters are situated, 410 South Michigan Boulevard.

Round Table discussions will be arranged for in the same building in the rooms of the Chicago Woman's Club, which has generously offered hospitality to the school.

Afternoon and evening lectures and also the Thursday morning lecture on May 22 given during the first week of the school (May 19 to May 24) are held at the University of Chicago and unless otherwise announced in the theatre of Ida Noyes Hall, 1254 East 59th Street, known as the Midway. Afternoon lectures and Round Tables during the second week as follows:

Sunday afternoon, May 25	Bowen Country Club, Waukegan, Ill.
Monday afternoon, May 26	Fine Arts Building.
Tuesday afternoon, May 27	Field Columbian Museum, Grant Park.
Wednesday afternoon, May 28	Evanston, Ill.
Thursday all day, May 29	Hull House, Polk and South Halsted Sts.
Friday all day, May 30	Fine Arts Building, 410 South Michigan Blvd.
Saturday afternoon, May 31	Sherman Park, 52nd and Loomis Sts., Chicago.

Automobile Tours

The foreign delegates and the faculty of the School are invited to be the guests on Wednesday afternoon, May 28, of the Council of Foreign Relations in Evanston, who also ask them to tea, and on Saturday, May 31, the same delegates are the guests of the South Park Commissioners, who invite them to visit the Park System and to hold the closing session in the attractive field house in Sherman Park.

Several social functions are being arranged, invitations for which will be issued later.

Organizing Committee International Summer School W. I. L. P. and F.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE, University of Chicago, Chairman.
MOLLIE RAY CARROLL, Goucher College.
FLOKA J. COOKE, Francis Parker School, Chicago.
MARGARET B. CROOK, Smith College.
RACHEL DU BOIS, Philadelphia.
GRAVE de GRAFF, Portland, Oregon.
FLORENCE HOLBROOK, Forestville School, Chicago.
MRS. TEMPLETON JOHNSON, San Diego, California.
MRS. W. M. I. HULL, Swarthmore College, Penn.
VIDA B. STUDDER, Wellesley College, Mass.

EX OFFICIO

JANE ADDAMS, International President.
EMILY BALCH, International Executive Committee.
LUCY BIDDLE LEWIS, National President.
AMY WOODS, National Secretary.
ELLA BOYNTON, Pres. Chicago Branch.
HARRIET VAN DER VAART, Office Sec'y Summer School.

This is the sixth International Summer School held under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The first one was held in Salzburg, Austria, in 1921. The second was held at Easter, 1922, in Keswick, England, and later in the season the third and fourth Summer Schools were conducted, one at Burg Lauenstein, an old feudal castle in upper Franconia, and another in the Town Hall of Lugano, Switzerland. In 1923 a fifth Summer School had its sessions in Podesbrady, Czechoslovakia. These schools have always been conducted in French, German and English, but because the delegates to the Washington Congress largely speak English, the sixth Summer School at Chicago, with several exceptions, will be conducted in one language.
Information concerning the International Congress at Washington, D. C., May 1 to 7, may be obtained at National Headquarters, 1403 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

61-1538-46



FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

President's Address



President's Address

Washington, D. C., May 1-7, 1924

It gives me great pleasure to announce the opening of the Fourth Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which we can almost call our fifth, as we also convened the emergency conference held at The Hague in December, 1922. Will you permit me to report, in the midst of chaos and disaster still obtaining in many parts of the world, here and there an attempt to live according to the principles of a New International Order.

Austria has freely renounced a piece of Hungarian territory assigned her by the Peace Treaty; we recall the success in Holland of opposition to the proposed naval expansions; the decision of the British Government to abandon the construction of a naval base at Singapore; Gandhi has shown that a national movement for self-determination may be successfully conducted by moral energy ignoring brute force; the Conference on Naval Disarmament in Washington with its practical results; the withdrawal of the Japanese from the Chinese province of Shantung; the rising peace movement throughout the churches and theological schools; the "No More War" movement, rapidly increasing in so many countries; the Peace resolutions of the International Education Conference held in San Francisco in 1923; the new note of decision in the Peace committees connected with all women's organizations; the announcement of President Coolidge ten days ago that he contemplates calling a world conference for further limitation of armaments and the initiation of plans for the codification of international law.

In offering you this welcome I am speaking in a dual capacity, as it were. First, as your international officer and servant, and second, as an American citizen. To my mind these dual roles do not conflict. I am not of those who believe that devotion to international aims interferes with love of country, any more than devotion to family detracts from good citizenship; rather, as Mazzini pointed out the duties of family, nation, and humanity are but concentric circles. In this latter capacity, I am sorry to speak a word of apology. Ever since you landed some of you must have felt certain currents of intolerance never before encountered at our previous congresses. May I assure you that Americans are not by nature and training less tolerant than the people in those other countries, who treated us with such fine and unvarying courtesy. But a survival of war psychology is an unaccountable thing; it constitutes a new indictment, if one were needed, of the devastating effects of war upon human character. Perhaps it was too soon to hold our Congress on American soil. Possibly we ought to have accepted the invitation of our British

Section to meet in London, where free speech and free assemblage are once more firmly reestablished. In this situation there may be local features. A newspaper in Washington and one in Cincinnati, published by the same man, may have special reasons for diverting attention from national affairs to international dangers, quite as foreign wars have been fomented when the demands for internal reforms have become uncomfortably pressing.

But I beg of you not to take this situation too seriously. The American delegation does not, for it knows only too well how easily newspaper attacks are manufactured and how ephemeral is the consequence of such attacks. Perhaps you will permit me to illustrate this: When in the interests of the League I was in London in 1916, the business portion of that great town was everywhere placarded by huge posters, black on a yellow ground, which fairly shouted to the passerby "To the Tower with Ramsay Macdonald," "The Pacifist to the Tower," etc. These placards had been put up by one Horatio Bottemly, the editor of John Bull, who is, as our English delegates know, at present in jail, in the Tower himself, so to speak, while at the same moment Ramsay Macdonald is Prime Minister of England. It proves once more, does it not, that this old world of ours, which does not always progress, certainly always turns around, and that night and day alternate with fair regularity.

One thing I should very much deprecate: I should be in despair if you were frightened and inhibited so that instead of a real Congress with a genuine discussion, we should have a sort of dress parade Congress, with a pretended discussion and an expression of half-convictions. The world does not need more of that kind of talk, and our League is much too serious and too vital to indulge in it. You European women from Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and the rest have suffered too much, you have known war and starvation too intimately to come here to merely say that which will placate and reassure us. May I also add, that as you speak from your hearts, from the depths of your own experiences, as you have in other congresses, that you will find a tremendous response throughout the length and breadth of this wide land of ours. In churches, in colleges, in cities and on farms there is at last arising an overwhelming demand that war shall cease, and, more than that, that the United States shall lead in a movement to this end.

This beautiful capital city of ours does not always know what the people want, although it tries so hard to find out!

My father was a warm friend of Abraham Lincoln, his colleague in the Illinois legislature. He brought up his children in the belief that Lincoln's kindness and tolerance and understanding of all men, including his official enemies, represented the highest point of achievement on the American continent. May I open this Congress, therefore, with Lincoln's words, in the form of a prayer, if you will, for although we swear not at all, we do sometimes say our prayers:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting Peace among ourselves and with all Nations."

JANE ADDAMS.

- Saturday, May 3**
9:30 A. M. to
12:30 P. M. **Subject: A New International Order: Its Economic Aspects**
Speakers: Mme. Dunont (France), Emily G. Balch (U. S. A.), Yella Hertzka (Austria).
Opening of Discussion: Lucie Dejardin (Belgium), Dr. Williams (England), S. Cunningham (Canada).
- Saturday, 2 to 4 P. M.** Manifesto written at the request of the International Board in London, February 4 to 5, 1924; submitted to the Congress for ratification.
- Saturday**
8:30 P. M.
Evening Meeting **Mass Meeting**
Chairman: Jane Addams.
Speakers: Judge Florence Allen (U. S. A.), Dr. Woker (Switzerland), Dr. Sahlbom (Norway), Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary), Marcelle Capi (France).
- Sunday, May 4**
2:30 P. M. **Mass Meeting of Young People, Hall of Nations.**
Chairman: Annalce Stewart (U. S. A.).
1. Music, Quartet of Hampton Institute.
2. The Past War from Point of View of an Ex-Soldier.
3. What the Next War Will Mean, Dorothy Evans (England).
4. Statement of Present Situation and What Youth Are Doing for a New International Order, Hiro Ohashi (Japan), Herberto Sein (Mexico), Miss Thilleyampalam (India).
5. Cooperation, Eugène Corlie (University of New York).
6. Outlawry of War, Allan Hunter (Union Seminary, New York).
7. A Message from the Youth Movement of Europe, Gertrud Baer (Germany).
8. Quartet singing "Ain't Goin' to Study War No More."
- Sunday, 8:30 P. M.**
Evening Meeting **Special Concert at Howard University**
By Choral Society; Lulu Childers, Director; arranged by Mary Church Terrell.
- Monday, May 5**
9:30 A. M. to
12:30 P. M. **A New International Order: Its Psychological Aspects**
Speakers: Anita Augspurg (Germany), Andrée Jouve (France), Mrs. Templeton-Johnson (U. S. A.).
Opening of Discussion: Lady Clare Annesley (England), Prof. Dr. Gertrud Woker (Switzerland), Edith Waterworth (Australia).
- Monday, 2 to 4 P. M.** Presentation of the Cahiers de la Paix to the Congress (France, Great Britain, Hungary, Australia).
Discussion: Relation between the International Office (Geneva) and the National Sections.
- Monday, 8:30 P. M.**
Evening Meeting **Subject: European Problems in Relation to World Peace**
Chairman: Mad. Ramondi-Hirschmann (Holland).
Speakers: Kirby Page (U. S. A.), Augusta Kirchhoff (Germany), Maria Aull (Czecho-Slovakia), Dr. Khrapko Dragomanowa (Ukraine), Lucie Dejardin (Belgium). *John Ryan*
- Tuesday, May 6**
9:30 A. M. to
12:30 P. M. **Business Meeting**
Brief memorial service for fellow-workers in various countries.
Amendments to Constitution:
(a) Which have been submitted by the Board meeting in London, February 4 and 5, 1924.
(b) Which have been submitted to the International Secretary three months before the Congress.
- Tuesday, 2 to 4 P. M.** Reports of Committees on Nominations and on Resolutions.
Discussion of Resolutions submitted.
- Tuesday, 8:30 P. M.**
Evening Meeting **Subject: How to Prevent the Next War**
Chairman: Lida Gustava Heymann (Germany).
Speakers: Bertrand Russell (England), Tano Jodai (Japan), Dorothy Evans (England), Henrik Shipstead (United States Senator from Minnesota), "World Disarmament."
- Wednesday, May 7**
9:30 A. M. to
12:30 P. M. **Business Meeting (continued).**
Election of Officers.
Unfinished business.
- Wednesday, 2 to 4 P. M.** **Subject: Future Work.** Discussion opened by Gertrud Baer.
- Wednesday, 8:30 P. M.** Closing Reception to the Delegates.

The Young People's Meeting is under the following Committee appointed by members of 32 cooperating organizations of young people: Morton B. Penfield, Fellowship of Youth for Peace; Caroline Granger, Philadelphia; Andrew J. Allison, Urban League; Dorothy Biddle, The Young Friends; Gertrude Klein, Editor of "Free Youth"; Grace Louise Hubbard, Women's International League; Dorothy Beard and Richard Williams, Junior International League; Kenneth Close, Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club.

Resolutions and formal reports appearing on the Agenda will be placed in the hands of the Delegates each day, printed in French, German, and English.

A Who's Who of the Delegates and a final program will be issued at the opening of the Congress.

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Thursday, May 1
9:30 A. M. to
12:30 P. M.

Opening Address—Jane Addams, International President.
Appointment of Committees: (a) Resolutions, (b) Credentials, (c) Nominations, (d) Press, (e) Report of Congress.
Appointment of official interpreters.
Reports of National Sections (three minutes each): Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay.
Reports of Affiliated Societies: Argentine, Brazil, Ceylon, Chile, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Egypt, Haiti, India, Japan, Mexico, Roumania, Turkey.
Ratification of New Sections.
Reports of Committees from Vienna Congress, 1921:

- (a) Peace Missions in Finland, in Schleswig, in the Ruhr; Mathilde Widegren (Sweden), Chairman.
- (b) Passive Resistance, Carolena Wood (U. S. A.).
- (c) Cooperation with Youth in Various Countries, Gertrud Baer (Germany).
- (d) Cooperation Toward Ending Social Injustice, Frau Herizka (Austria).
- (e) Cooperation with Relief of Children Suffering from War Conditions and Action of the German W. I. L. in the Devastated Regions, Andrée Jouve (France).
- (f) Laws Regarding Nationality of Married Women in Cooperation with the International Women's Suffrage Alliance and the International Council of Women, Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland).
- (g) International Peace Day, Fru Tybjerg (Denmark).
- (h) Cooperation with League of Nations, Gladys Rinder (England).
- (i) Special Study of Conditions in Countries where War is Threatening, Catherine Marshall (England).
- (j) Protection of Minorities, with Reports of Conferences of the Eastern-European Federation (W. I. L.), in The Hague, December, 1922; in Podiebrady, August, 1923; in Warsaw, March, 1924.
- (k) Revision of Text-books, Frau Scheu-Riesz (Austria).
- (l) Summer Schools, Andrée Jouve (France).

Thursday, 2 to 4 P. M. A

Survey of the Nine Years' History of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, by Lida Gustava Heymann, Vice President W. I. L. Discussion and questions.

Thursday, 8:30 P. M. Evening Meeting

Subject: Pan-American Problems in Relation to World Peace
Chairman: Zonia Baber (U. S. A.).
Speakers: Señora Conde de Avila (Mexico), Señora Pasteriza Flores (Equador), Agnes Macphail, M. P. (Canada), Mme. Houdicourt (Haiti), Señora V. Zouroff (Chile), Miss Josefa Llano (Philippines), Mrs. Ida Perry-Johnson (the Antillia Association).

The following resolution, adopted at The Hague, 1915, will be submitted for reaffirmation at the end of the meeting:
"Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government."

Friday, May 2
9:30 A. M. to
12:30 P. M.

Subject A New International Order: Its Political Aspect
Speakers: Dr. Ethel Williams (England), Dr. Surowzowa (Ukraine), Jeannette Rankin (U. S. A.).
Opening of the Discussion: Lotte Heller (Austria), Mrs. Johnson (Ireland), Mrs. Cumberson (California), Mad. Karaveloff (Bulgaria).

Friday, 2 to 4 P. M.

Headquarters Report: Vilma Glücklich, International Secretary.
Suggestions for Discussion sent to the International Office, Geneva, by the various National Sections:
(a) Action with Governments: For the abolition of conscription, of capital punishment, of military propaganda, especially among colored races; and for the introduction of Free Trade, Miss Rinder (England).
(b) Action with the League of Nations: Opposition to the Treaties of Mutual Guarantee, Miss Rinder (England).
(c) Action through public opinion: Propaganda for the United States of Europe, Dr. Anita Augspurg (Germany), Miss Dorothy Evans (England); propaganda to establish chairs at universities for the teaching of the scientific foundations of world peace, Lotte Heller (Austria), Mad. Illová (Czecho-Slovakia), Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland); organization of a world-wide Press Service for pacifistic action, Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary).

Friday, 8:30 P. M. Evening Meeting

Subject: How to Secure World Peace.
Chairman: Mad. Duchêne (France).
Speakers: Gladys Rinder (England), Mad. Illová (Czecho-Slovakia), Yella Hertzka (Austria).
William E. Borah (United States Senator from Idaho): *Need of a World Economic Conference.*

Arrival of Delegates

Delegates from Europe are expected to arrive in New York on the steamships *Majestic*, *Olympic*, *Ordona*, and other boats, between April 19 and 29. They will be welcomed at the dock by the New York Branch and on the evening of April 23 the First Mass Meeting in this country will be held in New York at which many of the international delegates will speak.

International Board Meeting

April 24 to April 29 The International Board of Officers will meet at Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, for business sessions at the home of Lucy Biddle Lewis, National Chairman, U. S. A.

Social Affairs

During the Congress

Tea will be served each afternoon at 4 o'clock by different groups—National Woman's Party, Alice Paul hostess; National Council for the Prevention of War, Mrs. Raymond Morgan hostess; University Women's Club, Mrs. John Jay O'Connor hostess. On one afternoon Mrs. John Jay White will act as hostess at the headquarters of the National Federation of Women's Clubs and present her dramatic poem "Christus."

There will be opportunities to visit Government Buildings, the parks, and other places of special interest.

May 8

An excursion is planned to Mount Vernon, the plantation home of George Washington on the Potomac River.

May 9

President and Mrs. Guth, for Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland, will entertain the delegates at a luncheon followed by a reception to which students of the college and friends from Baltimore are invited.

Visits to Other Cities

New England: While the International Board is in session April 24-29, other delegates will be entertained in New England and fill speaking engagements arranged by the Massachusetts Branch.

Pennsylvania: May 9-10 the delegates will be guests of the Branch in Philadelphia. Meetings are being planned by foreign-born citizens and an International May Breakfast will be held at noon at the Hotel Bellevue Stratford.

Pax Special

The *Pax Special*—a private car—will carry twenty-five international visitors from the Congress to Chicago for the International Summer School. At the close of the Summer School the *special* will continue to Montreal, reaching there by June 7, the sailing date of the European delegates.

The members of the *Pax Special* will live on the train, stopping frequently along the way for special meetings. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, and Toronto have arranged mass meetings to which the delegates will bring the message from the Fourth International Congress.

Accommodations

Room Rates: At Headquarters, Washington Hotel, for one person, \$4-\$6 per day. Members of the United States Section will please make arrangements direct with the hotel management. All official delegates of European Sections coming directly from their own countries to the Congress may obtain rooms at half rates at the Washington Hotel by writing to W. I. L. Headquarters, 1403 H Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

Visitors and American delegates who prefer accommodations in private houses at lower rates may secure them through the National Headquarters.

Reduction of Railroad Fares

From all points of the United States and Canada, tickets to Washington will be on sale under the certificate plan. On the Pacific coast they can be purchased April 24-29; nearer East, April 26-May 2. They will be good for return trip until May 10. Certificates *must be secured* from the ticket agent at time of purchase of a regular one-way ticket to Washington and *must be deposited* at Congress Headquarters upon arrival. If a minimum number of 250 are received, the railroad will issue a return ticket at half rate to be used over the same route as each original ticket purchased. (Members coming from nearby cities can help to fill the quota by taking advantage of these rates.)

All communications concerning International Congress should be addressed to National Headquarters, Miss Amy Wood, Secretary, 1403 H Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.



THE HAGUE 1915

ZURICH 1919

VIENNA 1921

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Jane Addams, President, Hull House, Chicago, U. S. A.

Emily G. Balch, Secretary-Treasurer, U. S. A.; Gertrud Baer, Germany; Thora Daugaard, Denmark; Lucie Dejardin, Belgium; Gabrielle Duchêne, France; Yella Hertzka, Austria; Lida Gustava Heymann, Vice President, Germany; Catherine Marshall, Vice President, Great Britain; C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Asst. Secretary, Holland.

Date: May 1 to May 7, 1924. Place: Washington, U. S. A. Subject: A New International Order

The League met for the *first time* at *The Hague* in 1915 to protest against the war and to formulate principles of permanent peace.

A *second Congress* was held in 1919 in *Zurich* at the end of the war which analyzed the Versailles Treaty and reported back to the Peace Conference then sitting in Paris those parts of the Treaty which they believe contain the seeds of new wars.

The *third Congress*, held in *Vienna*, 1921, reaffirmed the principles of the League and laid plans for active work, especially in southeastern Europe.

In *December, 1922*, because of the threatening conditions in Europe, the League called an *Emergency Conference* at *The Hague*. One hundred ten organizations with aggregate membership of ten million men and women were represented. The Conference resolved to work unremittingly for a World Congress to be called by the League of Nations, a single nation, or a group of nations to achieve a New Peace.

Today, with the same high courage with which the members of the League faced militarism during ten tragic years, they hope to find a way to reorganize international relations through the political and economic and spiritual forces which underlie all human endeavor.

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Wednesday, April 30, 1924, 8:30 to 10:30 P. M.

Opening Reception

To the Foreign Delegates and to representatives of the Embassies whose nationals are official representatives to the Congress.

Addresses of Welcome by:

- Lucy Biddle Lewis, National Chairman Women's International League, Section for the United States.
- Mrs. Henry Villard, International Women's Peace Society.
- Miss Elinor Byrns, Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere.
- Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, International Bureau for Peace.
- Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, International Council of Women.
- Miss Waitc, Institute of International Education.
- Miss Rose Schneiderman, International Congress of Working Women.
- Mme. Helene LeRoy, Comité Internationale D'action Démocratique.
- Dr. Valeria H. Parker, International W. C. T. U.
- Mrs. George Mathes, World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches.
- Mrs. Joseph Fauset, Pan African Congress.
- Miss Grace Hutchins, International Fellowship of Reconciliation.
- Hannah Clothier Hull, Friends' Service Committee.
- Mrs. James B. Warbasse, International Cooperation Alliance.
- Mrs. Harry Edmonds, Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Clubs.
- Distinguished members of other International Organizations committed to World Order.

Headquarters for the Congress
Hall of Nations, Washington Hotel
15th and Pennsylvania Ave.



Washington Hotel, United States Capitol, Pennsylvania Avenue

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOLS AND CONFERENCES

1923 W. I. L. International Summer School

In Czecho-Slovakia, August 16-29, 1923, at Poděbrady, which is an attractive town and bathing resort, about half an hour's ride from Prague, surrounded by pine forests, on the bank of the river Elbe. The old castle, with modern equipment, will accommodate all. For students from the United States, \$40 will cover all expenses for 15 days.

Program: General topic, "Social Peace." Morning lectures on economic and social problems; afternoons or evenings, some implications of the subject in literature, art, education, and ethics.

Open Letter from Geneva to the Young People of America To the Younger Members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and to all young people, whether organized or not.

Dear Comrades: The International Summer School of the W. I. L. is of extraordinary importance to the young people of all countries, for their lives will be shaped by the social conditions of the next few decades. They will only be able to create and develop a new social order if, both internationally and nationally, new trails are blazed and new roads built from the constant unrest and conflict of existing industrial conditions into a state of society fit for all human beings to live and grow in.

One of our chief aims is the elimination of war and the substitution of legal methods in its place. But war is only one manifestation of the use of force—the most in evidence, perhaps, and the most highly developed—but still only one. Is not exploitation and oppression, day after day, of one class by another, one sex by the other, one race by another, one generation by another, a manifestation of force also? War is but another form of politics. Political peace among men is not possible without social peace. The roads to a new social order must be sought by all, working together in mutual confidence.

Therefore, do all in your power to have at this year's international summer school any young people of America who can come, boys and girls, both hand and brain workers. Of course, only a few can take advantage of this great opportunity, because of the distance and expense. But every boy and girl in America could have a part in the summer school by reading the suggested bibliography and by sending suggestions to us which will be sent to the summer school by a representative of the Junior International Leagues.

With kindest regards and best wishes, from the International Young People's Department, Geneva, Switzerland.

(For further information, address National Headquarters, 1403 H Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.)

(Note: It is hoped to raise a number of free scholarships to be offered to students coming from impoverished countries. Without such help very few will be able to attend from these countries, and yet they are very keen to come and are needed to make the school really international. Do not hesitate to send in a small amount if you cannot send more. Contributions to the scholarship fund should be sent to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 6 rue du Vieux College, Geneva, Switzerland.)

COMMENTS ON FORMER SUMMER SCHOOLS

Lauraville, Germany: "Last summer, women and men, old and young, of eleven countries, passed together the first half of August in pleasant companionship, living together in full freedom and equality, forgetting the chaos of today and seeing far ahead better times in the future."

An American girl said: "I am sure that if every American girl could have run home from the trout pond hand in hand with a girl from Transylvania, breathless for fear of having to pay the threatened 10-mark penalty for being late to dinner, could have slept in a room in which representatives of six nationalities slept also, with her bed next to that of a Russian girl, could have talked school with a girl from Prague, could have located her berries with an Austrian professor, exchanged stamps with a Czecho-Slovakian, shared the same chair with an Italian woman while listening to a German fairy-tale, felt the clutch of her neighbor from Ukraine when the "white lady" appeared, and with twelve nationalities listened to music and watched dances, as I have done, she would soon learn what a joy there is in common between peoples. And she would have not only found a ground for knowledge that peace is possible, but she would also have a strong desire to work for it." (Extract from letter from Alice Haines of Washington, D. C.)

Legnano, Switzerland: "The school was welcomed the first day by the authorities of the Tessiner canton and the town of Legnano officially in the kindest possible way. About 150 people, belonging to 19 nations, had gathered together in the Hotel Meistrer. Among the lecturers were John Hayes Holmes, of New York, and Bertrand Russell, the prominent English socialist."

It is recommended that all W. I. L. members read the bibliography suggested for the summer school, both those who attend and those who remain at home.

Conferences on Peace, Disarmament, Etc.

France, July 23 to August 12, at Honfleur.—Under the auspices of the Society of Friends, at this picturesque fishing town on the Norman Coast, 40 minutes from Havre.

This is to be a conference for the study and discussion of international questions, with short courses in modern history, sociology, and economics. There will be numerous lectures by men and women specially qualified to speak on new social ideas and problems of international character, as well as upon matters of historic and artistic interest. Lectures will be given in both French and English.

Among the lecturers listed are: Norman Angell, the noted English author, and Jean Louquet; Jeanne Melin, and Lucie Degardin, leaders in the French section of the W. I. L., will also speak. Among Americans on the executive committee are Dr. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, and Wilbur K. Thomas, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

(For further particulars write, Mary Keely, Executive Secretary, Short Hills, N. J.)

Germany, July and August, at Piarow, on the Baltic Sea.—This is a Youth Movement holiday course; the purpose will be to discuss problems and points of view in politics, philosophy, religion, art, etc. A course in dancing and gymnastics as a means of spiritualizing the body will be given. There will also be chances to learn languages. Students will accompany visitors to other parts of Germany. The economic life is planned on the simple, glad, youthful style of existence led by the members of the Youth Movement in Germany.

(For further information write, Mrs. Probenius Eagle, Pragerstr. 14, Berlin W. 50.)

ANNOUNCEMENT OF OTHER CONFERENCES

Mexico, May 20-30, at Mexico City.—First Convention of the Pan American League of Women of the Republics of North America.

England, June 6 to 8, at Leeds.—Sixteenth National Peace Congress. Subject: "The Moral Principles of Reconstructed Peace."

Austria, June 24, at Vienna.—General Assembly of the Federation of League of Nations Union. Agenda: Minorities; Disarmament; Economic Conditions.

United States, June 28-July 5, at San Francisco, Calif.—World Conference on Education.

Sweden, June 29, at Soderhamm.—Swedish Peace Congress. In All Countries, July 28 and 29.—"No More War" Day. Disarmament Demonstrations.

Denmark, July 19 to 26, at Nyborg Strand, Fyn.—International Conference of Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Germany, August, at Freiburg-in-Breisgau.—The Third International Democratic Congress; questions of nationalism and disarmament will be included in the agenda.

Switzerland, August 2 to 15, at Terriet.—Second International Conference on Education. Subject: "Education for Creative Service."

Bibliography for W. I. L. Summer School

- International Affairs.*—
A Revision of the Treaty. J. Maynard Keynes. Harcourt, Brace and Company.
What the League of Nations Has Done. Arthur Sweetzer, World Peace Foundation Pamphlets on the Work of the League, 40 Mt. Vernon street, Boston.
League of Nations Union Pamphlets on the Work of the League, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S. W. 1, London.
The New Social Order.—
Proposed Roads to Freedom. Bertrand Russell.
Industrial Unrest, a Way Out. R. Seebohm Rowntree. Longmans Green.
Incidents in the New Social Order. J. A. Hobson. Seltzer.
Christening the Social Order. W. Laschcrbusch, Macmillan.
The Industrial Conflict.—
Decay of Capitalist Society. S. and B. Webb. Allen and Unwin.
Consumers' Cooperative Societies. Charles Gide. Knopf.
The Land Question.—
Land Nationalization. Beale Davis and Dorothy Evans. Leonard Parsons.
Miscellaneous.—
International Trade, an Application of Economic Theory. J. A. Hobson.
The World Crisis, a Plan to Restore Exchange. Sir George Paish.
America and the Rehabilitation of Europe. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1922.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE MEETING FOR CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The Washington Committee of the W. I. L. arranged one of the kindred group meetings held in connection with the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, in Washington, D. C., the third week of May. All members of the National Conference and their friends were invited to a consideration of "Our National and International Peace Questions."

The first half of the program followed the main topics of the program of the March annual meeting of the W. I. L.—*Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis* presided and spoke on "The International Background of the W. I. L."

Mrs. Ruth White Cohen gave the analysis of the National Defense Act. *Mrs. Anne Corbin Spencer* spoke on the educational aspects of the act. *Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois* spoke on "The Forward Movement of the Youth of the World." She made a special appeal that the young people of America urge that their Government give them a chance to show their real patriotism by substituting an attractive form of volunteer civil service instead of military service.

Miss Julia Lathrop, in speaking on "The International Background of Social Work," emphasized this appeal: "It is a matter of constructive achievement for us to know some way of making the civil service of a great country inviting to the youth. We have not spelled the first syllable in that practical substitution of a government by peaceful means for a government by force."

Miss Lathrop then introduced the foreign guests, for whom the opportunity was made at this meeting to speak in greeting for the men and women of their countries who are working for international peace—emphasizing that differences are less than our differences, and thus building a lasting foundation for world friendship.

The messages of some of these foreign guests were as follows:

From France

Mlle. Annie Neufred, Director-General Hospital Social Service, Paris, said:

"Had my people known that I should have the opportunity of giving you a few words of greeting, they would have urged me to say that not only of them had forgotten the wonderful support given to our civilian population during the war. All of our organizations for peace, to which all of you have contributed so largely—not only financially, but through your own personal work—have been carried on and developed. Is not this the highest tribute we can pay you?"

"I feel that a stronger link between all nations can be established through social service. We look up to you as to our elder sister, and hope you will keep on holding out to us a very friendly hand."

From Mexico

Dr. M. G. Conde Avila, Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee, Mexican National Alliance, said:

"It is with great satisfaction and unlimited hopes that I have the honor of bringing you the greetings of the men and women of my country who are working for international peace."

"All that has been said here today and also the splendid speeches delivered at the social workers' conferences bring me closer to you and confirm my belief that it is only through co-operative work that we are to bring about the better organization we need all over the world. This, based on justice, will certainly hasten the elimination of war. It is the duty of every individual to consider matters of such vital importance and by exposing and spreading his conscientiously deliberated opinion to aid in the success of this just undertaking. I am proud to tell you that in Mexico we are ready to work side by side with you, and I assure you that the women from all over Spanish America will never be afraid of doing their bit."

"The moment is unique in my country. Mexico is in its full period of reconstruction. From every source of human endeavor the most magnificent results are appearing and every one with good intentions can see that every worth while activity, every noble endeavor, is having its path smoothed, fostered, and protected. We are at the beginning of a new era and once more the old land of the Aztecs with its everlasting sunshine, its roses and myrtle will not only be, as many people call it, the jewel box of the world, but a land favored with the magic wand of peace. We are always glad to welcome our sisters and brothers of the United States and reciprocate the kindness with which we have met here and for which I personally am very grateful."

Senorita Concha Romero James, Secretary for Latin American Interests, Department on Work With Foreign Born Women, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, said:

"Perhaps many of you do not know that just this week the Mexican women are meeting in the city of Mexico for the first North American convention of the Pan American Association for the Advancement of Women." One of the subjects under consideration is internationalism and world peace. A peace society is being started in Mexico (the first, it seems). *Senorita Landrum* is the chief mover in it. We very much hope this organization will so increase its numbers that it may become a section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom."

From Japan

Miss Fusayo Ichikawa, Secretary of the New Women's Association, Tokyo, Japan, said:

"This is the first time in my life that I have spoken in English in public. So when I was asked to greet you in a few words, I thought it is better to keep silence—as always I do. But my consciousness of responsibility as a Japanese woman, as well as a worker for peace, drive me at last to stand here. If I speak in Japanese I am afraid to speak, and I can stand here. If I speak in English it is true, and I am glad to say, that some heavy clouds which have hung over this country and Japan have been wiped out by the Washington Disarmament Conference, which did so much toward the peace of those two countries and the peace of the whole world. Even though there is, it seems to me, some misunderstanding between those two countries which remains to be cleared up, the Japanese people, since the beginning of their history, have cultivated a militaristic spirit and training not only in the army but also in the schools. That is still a trouble with us today."

Miss Zonia Baber, of Chicago, Ill., is the official delegate of the W. I. L. to this meeting and is in attendance throughout its sessions from May 20 to 30, inclusive, at Mexico City. From Mexico, Miss Baber goes to San Francisco and Berkeley as the delegate of the W. I. L. to the annual meeting of the National Education Association, and later to the first World Educational Conference also being held in California.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1403 H Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

and that is why I felt so much need of a strong peace movement in my country.

"There are already a few organizations which are working for peace and freedom. The Women's Peace and Good Will Association of Japan was organized among educators and Christians about four years ago. They are working on about the same principles which your organization has, but the movement is still in its beginning."

"In addition to these organizations in Japan, the members of the younger generation who love peace and freedom is increasing day by day. They are quite a different type of people from the older generation with whom our country is most familiar. Any time you think of the Japanese people, please don't forget these young men and women. The future of Japan will surely belong to them. Let us all fight against the militarism and imperialism in every country. Let us co-operate to bring permanent peace and freedom not only between you and us, but in the whole world."

From India

Miss Hessa Mehta, of Baroda, who is studying educational and social legislation in the United States, said:

"I come from that land which has always been a lover of peace, even though some have considered that one of her greatest weaknesses."

"According to Mr. H. C. Wells—and you may accept his authority or not—out of the six greatest men the world has produced, two men belong to India, and they are known for their love of peace. Buddha takes the lead. The great Buddha was a preacher of the gospel of peace and love. Non-killing was his gospel, and he spread it through China and Japan and through some parts of Central Asia—not by sword but by love. The second great man was a soldier: Asoka was a great emperor of India, and today he might have been considered as great as Alexander or Napoleon, but he preferred another course. During one of his conquests he was so overcome by grief, seeing the blood had he had created, that he gave up all his conquests, all of the lands he had conquered, back to the people from whom he had conquered. And he wrote his edicts of peace and freedom on iron pillars that you can see all over India today. He was one of the greatest figures in the world today—Mahatma Gandhi. India has produced a man who is considered by some of your own people one of the greatest figures in the world today—Mahatma Gandhi. He has chalked out for us a course of peace to win our freedom, and you will be glad to know he has the greatest following among women. Women were the original home-makers; they were instrumental in all saving the wild man. Today the world is in chaos and women from all lands from all over the world will have to join hands in re-establishing the broken home."

"I bring you greetings from India and offer you our hearty co-operation in all your efforts for peace and freedom."

From Germany

Dr. Alice Selowen, director of social service school in Berlin, could not be present, but sent the following message:

"What is common to us all, to the social workers of different countries, classes, and creeds who meet here, is a social ideal—the conviction that mutual aid is the law of life. We are united; in feeling the individual responsibility for mankind, in the conviction that man cannot live by bread, but by love; not by fighting but by helping each other—united in the conviction that all progress has been brought about by man's increasing capacity for co-operation."

"In bringing a message from Germany, may I say that we have, during the last years, completely changed our form of government, social order, institutions, and laws, but in doing this we have learned one lesson: we have learned that no external change, no new structure, is sufficient in itself. We have realized what Tolstoy expressed so fully in the result of all his mental and spiritual struggles in his last book, which bears the title 'The Light that Shines Out of the Darkness.'"

"He has expressed the gist of his conception of life therein: 'Only if something is accomplished within the soul can the world be changed.' This is the wonderful opportunity, the enormous responsibility, of all who work for peace and good will among nations."

Resolution Passed at This Meeting and Wired to Mexico

SENORITA ELENA TORRES, Vice-President for North America of the Pan American Association for the Advancement of Women, City of Mexico, Mexico.

Whereas, The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, organized to promote peace and friendship between nations, at its meeting in honor of the Delegate to the National Conference of Social Work, May twenty-first, in the Capital City of the United States, has received with pleasure the friendly messages of the women of Mexico who are also working for international peace; therefore, be it Resolved, That we extend our greetings and good wishes to the Pan American League of Women and congratulate them on their first international convention now in session in the City of Mexico, with full confidence that they will join the women of other nations in expressing themselves in favor of international disarmament to prevent war.

LOVE BONNIE LEWIS, Chairman United States Section, Washington, D. C.

SEÑORA ELENA TORRES, Vice-Presidenta por Norte America de la Liga Panamericana de Mujeres, Apartado Postal No. 1528, Mexico, D. F.

Por Causa, La Liga Internacional Venezolana de Paz y Libertad, cuyo fin es el de fomentar la paz y amistad entre las naciones, que recibió con agrado la resolución de la Conferencia Internacional de la Liga Nacional de Provisión Social de los Estados Unidos celebrada en Washington, el 21 de Mayo, los mensajes amistosos de sus hermanas mexicanas, que también trabajan por los mismos fines. Resuelto, Enviar a la Liga Panamericana de Mujeres los saludos más cordiales y felicitarle en la primera Conferencia de sus congeneres de las Repúblicas de Norte America que se halla reunida en México, aprovechando esta oportunidad para expresar la confianza que abriga la Liga Internacional de que las mujeres de México se unieron a las de otras naciones, declarando en favor del desarme internacional para evitar la guerra.

LOVE BONNIE LEWIS, Presidente de la Sección de las Naciones Unidas, Washington, D. C.

61-1538-4

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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Washington Hotel, Hall of Nations

Pan American Session

Thursday, May 1st—8.30 o'clock

SUBJECT

Pan American Problems in Relation to World Peace



1. Mrs. Ida Perry-Johnson, the Antilles.
2. Señorita Elena Calderon, Bolivia.
3. Miss Agnes Macphail, Canada.
4. Señora Vera Zouroff, Chile.
5. Señora Pastoriza Flores, Ecuador.
6. Señorita Marie C. Moulun, Guatemala.
7. Señora Conde de Avila, Mexico.
8. Miss Josefa Llano, Philippine Islands.
9. Miss Mabel Powers, Iroquois Indian, U. S. A.
10. Miss Zonia Baber (Chairman), United States.



Resolution To Be Presented To The Congress

Whereas, claims arising from the investments of capitalists of one country in the resources of another are fertile sources of international complications,

Therefore, be it Resolved, That we urge upon our respective Parliaments the passage of laws forbidding the use of the army or navy in collecting private debts or in protecting private property in foreign countries.

Is The Government Making An Effort To Abolish
War Commensurate With The Desire Of The People
That War Be Abolished?

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THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD AND PEACE

"Youth is searching for individual righteousness and freedom, and also for fellowship rising out of this freedom."
- Friends Intelligencer.

"The joy of the best of youth, their glad earnestness and their readiness for responsibility and sacrifice is the smile of the future. This earnest glad light of a new day is dawning for all nations."

"Young people rejoice that you live in these times!"
- From the New Student.

April, 1924.

The effort which various groups of citizens are making to abolish war is reported in the following surveys:

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Churches and Peace | Politics and Peace |
| Commerce and Peace | Press and Peace |
| Educators and Peace | Soldiers and Peace |
| Farmers and Peace | Women and Peace |
| Labor and Peace | Youth and Peace |

Prepared under the direction of
Florence Boeckel, Education Secretary,
National Council for Prevention of War,
532 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

61-1538-46

FOREWORD

In periods of change the responsibility for leadership has always fallen upon youth. That responsibility rests today with the young men and women of all nations, and, in steadily increasing numbers, they are rising to meet it.

Three years ago Sir James Barrie urged the students of Scotland to form an international league of youth and told them that the youth of all lands had more in common than youth and age in any one. It is undoubtedly true that the generations living side by side are today farther apart than the East is from the West, because since the old men of today formed their opinions, and adopted their policies, the world has changed. Young men and women listening to the theories and the promises of old men, fought the war and have endured the suffering that has followed it, and they have learned that old policies and old methods no longer work, that in the newly interdependent world they mean destruction.

What Youth Wants

Out of its experience of the war, Youth has gained the inevitable conviction that a new way of life must be found - a way of life in harmony with the realities of today. Starting out with a deep seriousness that amounts often to religious inspiration - and yet not without gaiety and courage that are inevitably a part of youth, so long as youth is free - it is putting to the test of modern realities every rule, every precedent, every inherited convention. It is studying, discussing, experimenting. Groups are springing up everywhere, notably in the universities.

and in the churches. These groups are, in general avoiding any definite organization and only a few of them have clearly defined programs. Nevertheless, they are united in a few fundamental attitudes toward life.

Youth everywhere proclaims the right and duty of free development for the individual, essential in times of change when new ways must be discovered. Beyond the individual, Youth looks forward to the building of a better nation and a better world based on the tolerance which the free development of the individual implies. Here and there, groups are concentrating their effort upon the abolition of war as the chief of the destructive forces which are obstructing the way to free individual development. But in general, the opposition of the youth of the world to war is less a definite program than the inevitable result of the recognition of the value of the individual, of the interdependence of the nations and of human brotherhood which it re-emphasizes.

To define the youth movement is impossible. This foreword is meant to suggest the spirit which animates it, for in the following survey no attempt is made to do more than list the groups of young people who, in one way or another, are aiding in the struggle to abolish war. Many of these groups are organized and directed by young people themselves, others are not, but all are influencing the attitude of young men and women toward the world problems for the solution of which they will soon be responsible. There is tremendous hope in the energy which young people are putting into their effort to understand the conditions of life today and to meet them intelligently; it may well be that others of the older generation would do well to follow Dr. Carey Thomas and devote their strength "to help youth fulfill its will."

Barrie Speaks to Youth

"My own theme is 'Courage' as you should use it in the great fight that seems to me to be coming between Youth and their Betters; by Youth meaning, of course, you, and by your Betters, us. I want you to take up this position - that Youth have for too long left exclusively in our hands the decisions in national matters that are more vital to them than to us. Things about the next war, for instance, and why the last one ever had a beginning. That the time has arrived for Youth to demand a partnership.

"Your Betters have done a big thing; we have taken spring out of the year. And having done that our leading people are amazed to find that the other seasons are not conducting themselves as usual. The spring of the year lies buried in the fields of France and elsewhere. By the time the next eruption comes it may be you who are responsible for it and your sons who are in the lava. All perhaps because this year you let things slide.

"We have no intention of giving you your share.... I expect we shall beat you; unless your fortitude be doubly girded by a desire to send a message of cheer to your brothers who fell - the only message, I believe, for which they crave; they are not worrying about their Aunt Jane. They want to know if you have learned from what befell them; if you have, they will be braced in the feeling that they did not die in vain. Some of them think they did. They won't take our word for it that they didn't..... They call to you to find out in time the truth about this great game, which your elders play for stakes and youth for its life.

"You have more in common with the youth of other lands than Youth and Age can ever have with each other. You ought to have a League of Youth as your great practical beginning."

- Sir James Barrie, on his installation as rector of St. Andrew's University, May 3, 1922.

New York Times Spurs on American Youth

"' You have more in common with the youth of other lands than Youth and Age can ever have with each other.'

"This seems at first a shocking statement to the ears of age, and Sir James might well have seemed to himself (at any rate to his practical self) to be advocating something rebellious and to be in danger, as he said, of being arrested on leaving the hall. But on reflection one must